

*Very truly
yours*

A

LETTER

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ. M.P.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION,

&c. &c. &c.

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CONTAINING

REMARKS ON THE REPORTS

OF THE

SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, AND AFRICAN
INSTITUTION:

WITH

HINTS

RESPECTING THE MEANS BY WHICH AN UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE
MIGHT BE CARRIED INTO EFFECT.

BY ROBERT THORPE, ESQ. L.L.D.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF SIERRA LEONE, AND JUDGE OF THE VICE
ADMIRALTY COURT IN THAT COLONY,
&c. &c. &c.

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TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ. M.P.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION,

&c. &c.

SIR,

THE unbounded benevolence and unparalleled philanthropy attributed to you, I am confident, will induce you to excuse this hasty and unornamented epistle ; but my continuance in England being very uncertain, I am impelled precipitately to commit myself to you, and to the publick.

You have been for above twenty years considered the patron of Sierra Leone, and you are designated the "Father of the Abolition." The effect of my exertions for that colony, and the spirit of my decisions in support of the abolition, I hope will prove, that I have been as sincere a friend to the one, and practically as beneficial a promoter of the other, as any unassuming individual. Thus embarked, I should consider it a dereliction of principle, and a proof of insensibility, to neglect exerting myself at all times in this great cause ; but the

calamitous accounts I have recently received from Sierra Leone, and the awfully pending state of the abolition, imperiously demand from me some effort at this moment. Private exertion I have exhausted; from high authority I am personally excluded; therefore to public appeal I am driven. It is the only means by which I can fulfil my duty to the King, prove my attention to the colony, over which I judicially preside, and manifest my zeal for the civilization of Africa, and the abolition of the slave trade.

I shall commence with a review of what has been done from the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company*; whose avowed objects were to “encourage trade with the west coast of Africa; to promote cultivation, advance civilization, diffuse morality, and induce some attention to a pure system of religion in Africa;” as also, “not to suffer their servants to have the slightest connexion with the slave trade; neither to buy, sell, or employ any one in a state of slavery; and to repress the traffick as far as their influence would extend.” This was a wise and truly beneficent plan, promising wealth to England, and happiness to Africa; but I have inquired, and have found that no part of it was ever carried into effect.

* Vide their Report for 1794, printed by Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street.

The Company obtained, in a very short time, a superabundance of land, finely situated, and well circumstanced on the Sierra Leone river*, in exchange for a few insignificant articles of merchandise; they collected together from London, Halifax, and Jamaica, near two thousand settlers at very little expense; they had zealous and affluent supporters in England; they had unprejudiced and tractable (though unenlightened) natives to negotiate with; and they had near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds capital; yet they very quickly made the natives suspicious, the settlers discontented†, their best servants were obliged to seek establishments under the native chiefs‡; and although they had a monopoly of the trade, and their will was the regulation of profit, they sunk almost to bankruptcy, from causes enveloped in mystery, and applied to Government for support and protection§. To the Nova Scotia settlers they promised land for cultivation; twenty acres to each man||; ten for his wife; and five for each child; but this promise they never fulfilled¶: no man was allowed above a fifth of the land to which he was entitled; and implements to cultivate, even such a portion, were difficult to find, and too expensive to

* Falconbridge's Account, 1792, also the Agreement with King Naimbana, and Company.

† Appendix, No. I.

‡ Some of them returned to the colony after the Abolition act passed, and reside there at present.

§ Vide Parliamentary grants.

|| Lieut. Clarkson, who signed the agreement.

¶ Settlers remonstrated in vain, then ensued an insurrection.

procure. The settlers could not raise in the colony even rice and yams for subsistence; their very existence depended on a supply from the neighbouring rivers. Had land been granted at the commencement to the settlers as promised; had they been enabled to cultivate, and raise provisions for consumption and barter, they would soon have rendered themselves independent of, and less profitable to the Company;) whose storekeeper purchased provisions from the natives, paid for them in merchandise*, and sold them to the settlers; this might have produced little profit, but it secured great control. Even the plants indigenous to the soil remained uncultivated. Cotton, coffee, indigo, tobacco, &c. &c. were conspicuous; but it was in all the wildness of nature. Such were their efforts to promote cultivation.

In civilization, they proceeded so far as to send two persons to Teembo† (a few days walk from Sierra Leone), and educated half a dozen African boys in England, sufficiently, for common clerkships in the colony.

As to religion and morality, they had a Church of England clergyman for a few months‡, and a missionary for a few years; but they had Methodist teachers and preachers in abundance; the benefits

* Falconbridge's Account, p. 189.

† Vide Company's Report.

‡ Falconbridge's Account.

derived from their precepts may be imagined, from the missionary assuring me on his leaving the colony in 1812, relinquishing his house and 350*l.* per annum, “that he could do no good there, as the
 “ inhabitants were too far sunk in sin and immo-
 “ rality; that he would remove to the Booliam shore,
 “ try new ground, and endeavour to instruct the
 “ natives, improve their condition in this life, and
 “ prepare them with a knowledge of, and conduct
 “ for the world to come.” Lastly, their servants constantly purchased the natives*, worked them themselves without pay, and hired them to others for pay; suffered slaves to be brought in and taken out of the colony; allowed them to be seized and delivered to their masters when they sought protection; permitted their storekeeper to supply the slave factories†, slave ships, and to feed the trade in every possible way. Even in Mr. Ludlam’s last administration of the government, two cargoes of slaves taken from the Americans, were publicly sold at twenty dollars a head‡. So much for their efforts to repress the slave trade, of which they had professed such an abhorrence, and which the act of parliament for incorporating the company, forbade them to pursue. Is it possible the directors did not know, hear, or believe this, or any part of it? If disapprobation had attached to such conduct, is it

* Given in evidence, on oath, before Governor Thompson and Chief Justice Thorpe.

† Abundance of proof of this in the colony.

‡ Documents to prove this may be found in the High Court of Admiralty as transmitted by Governor Thompson, in 1808-9.

probable they would continue in their confidence, after they had heard of it, the persons who managed their concerns? Or did they imagine by trumpeting their abhorrence of this diabolical traffick, fulminating against every person implicated in it, and blazoning the virtues of those who seemed anxious to exterminate it, that they would prevent those transactions from being divulged; or if revealed, that they could induce this nation to discredit any authority that might dare to give them utterance? The Omniscient will know and judge; impotent humanity, may conjecture!

After sixteen years experiment, trade having failed; cultivation being retarded, civilization unattempted; religion and morality debased, and the slave trade nourished; every plan defeated, every artifice exposed; the Company, desirous of relieving themselves from the enormous expense, prevailed on government to accept a surrender of the colony*, and formed (to uphold their old influence) a society called the African Institution: having taken leave of the expense, they demanded to be paid for their buildings, and did accordingly receive a large sum from the treasury†, although they had before obtained (by pleading poverty) one hundred thousand pounds from government for the improvement of the colony: their books and agents were removed; while many of the poor settlers who had toiled for

* Transferred 1st January, 1808.

† Vide public account, 1808.

them for years were left unpaid. The case of some of these old, impoverished, and destitute people, I represented before the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, in a committee of the African Institution *; but no redress was offered: I simply requested that all their demands might be referred to arbitration in the colony; and even this was not complied with.

Having now briefly gone over the plan of the Sierra Leone Company, (of which you were a principal promoter and a chief director) and shewn that no part of it ever had been carried into effect, but that the most injurious consequences to Africa and the settlers followed from the Company's connexion with Sierra Leone; I shall proceed, Sir, to examine the plan, and the benefits that have arisen from the African Institution, of which you are a Vice-President; and this examination may with great propriety be addressed to you, because in conjunction with that little party of select friends with whom you profess to act, you still continue to hold the patronage of Sierra Leone.

As the Company expired, the Institution received life. The select of the Company proclaiming their zeal for Africa, and detestation of the slave trade, induced many of the first men for talents, acquirements, and virtue, to unite with them in forming this society, and prevailed on a very amiable Prince

* Early in 1814,

to preside over it. Thus, when they were supposed to have foundered by mismanagement, they are observed riding triumphantly, newly decorated, newly named, and secured by the most solid anchorage. The colony was surrendered to government; but the trade was secured to their managing secretary; and above all, he was prevailed on to assume the same important stations in the Institution, that he had held so beneficially with the Company!! Under such promising auspices, they commenced anew in 1807, with as much eclat as they had set out in 1791. Nothing of the old form and system was to be resigned; and accordingly their first Report* was read in July, 1807; from which we learn, "that the
 " Institution, deeply impressed with a sense of the
 " enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa
 " had suffered, and desirous of repairing them,
 " were anxious to adopt such measures as were
 " best calculated to promote their civilization and
 " happiness: that the happiest effects might be
 " anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge, and
 " exciting industry amongst the inhabitants of
 " Africa, equally beneficial to Africa and Great
 " Britain; and that the present period (that is
 " 1807) was eminently fitted for prosecuting those
 " benevolent designs."

The Institution professed, "to diffuse information
 " respecting the productions of Africa, the agri-
 " cultural and commercial capacities of that conti-

* Sold at Hatchard's, Piccadilly.

" nent, and the moral, intellectual, and political
 " condition of its inhabitants. To promote the
 " instruction of the Africans in letters, and useful
 " knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion
 " with the natives; to enlighten their minds; to
 " induce them to substitute a beneficial commerce
 " in place of the slave trade; to introduce amongst
 " them the useful arts of Europe; to promote the
 " cultivation of the African soil, by exciting, and
 " directing their industry, and by furnishing them
 " with seeds, plants, and implements of husbandry;
 " to introduce medical discoveries; to obtain a
 " knowledge of the principal languages in Africa;
 " to employ agents, and reward enterprize and
 " exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the
 " Institution."

The Report then proceeds with a luminous account
 of what they mean to do; describes the great field
 for action before them, and concludes with a panegyric
 on themselves, whilst bearing the title of
 the Sierra Leone Company.

The second Report begins with a resolution,
 " that proper persons shall be employed to teach
 " the Arabic and Soosoo languages in Sierra Leone;"
 and in pages 4, 5, 6, it speaks of empowering
 Mr. Ludlam to erect a school, and annex a farm;
 so that with reading and writing, they might combine
 instruction in agriculture, and other useful
 arts. This would all have been highly beneficial;
 but no masters, for the purpose of instructing the

rising generation in those languages, were ever heard of at Sierra Leone *; nor was there ever any school opened, or persons paid by the African Institution for instructing the children in reading and writing. The British government paid two black boys (who wrote badly and read worse) for teaching the children to read and write; but as for “instruction in agriculture, and other useful arts,” it never was attempted.

: I have been informed that Mr. W. Allen, of Plough Court, has procured a competent person on the colonial establishment to be sent out by the last fleet, in order to commence infusing a little knowledge in the year 1815.

What they next mention worth notice, is sending out cotton seed, and machines; true, they did send out such things, before the settlers had land granted to them; before land was prepared for the seed, or implements in the colony to prepare the land with; consequently, the seed was thrown into the river rotten, and the machines suffered to decay †. Their secretary and manager, knew the state of the colony perfectly well before these things were sent; private advantage seems therefore to have

* In the second and third Reports it is stated as if carried into effect.

† Many persons present when those articles arrived in the colony can prove the whole of this statement; and even in London, sufficient evidence could be found to establish this fact.

been the only motive for this profuse expenditure. Much is then said to induce persons to subscribe largely; and the Report concludes, "a chance will be afforded for restoring some of the captured negroes to their connexions; and some, having enjoyed the advantage of instruction in agriculture, and other useful arts in the colony, may possibly be beneficially employed in disseminating in other parts of Africa, the knowledge which they have thus acquired." Is it not most disgraceful, by such publications to delude a liberal nation? those poor creatures never received any instruction; nor was an effort ever made, to restore them to their connexions and country.

In the third Report* the same old delusion, as practised by the Sierra Leone Company, is kept up. The Report proceeds to state, "that the colony would produce hemp, rope, cotton, silk, sugar, tea, bark, camphire, castor oil, tobacco, &c. &c. &c." I was in the colony years after this report was published, yet never saw any of those valuable productions, nor heard of any attempt being made to cultivate any of them, except in the instance of one little cotton plantation. The colony scarcely produced cassada for the poor settlers; and never exported fifty pounds worth of its own produce that could benefit England, though the establishment has cost her an incredible sum, including colonial expenditure, head money, and compensation.

* Published in 1809. Compare the Sierra Leone Company's Report of 1794.

In the fourth Report they begin to explain the law to the navy. Speaking of the trade carried on in violation of our own laws, they tell them, "although all slaves found on board are liberated *; yet there is a bounty allowed by government to the captors; 40*l.* for each man; 30*l.* for each woman; and 10*l.* for each child; instances have occurred in which this has been claimed, and received." Thus, most improperly, they interfere with the law to deceive the navy, and assure them of rewards which the act never sanctioned. I cannot enter more minutely at present, into the continued fallacy that pervades the whole Report.

In the beginning of the fifth Report it is manifest that they do not know even the Portuguese possessions north of the equator; and after a few pages, we are assured, "that between two and three hundred boys enjoyed the benefit of education at Sierra Leone; and that the seeds and plants sent out, were in the most flourishing condition." The fallacy of such representations I exhibited before; but the commission of survey I cannot pass over so quickly. In the plenitude of patronage, two of the company's old servants, Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes, were appointed with captain Columbine commissioners for surveying the west coast of Africa within certain latitudes, having a salary of fifteen hundred a year each. The first was known to have possessed neither practice nor theory for the dis-

* 47 Geo. 3. c. 36. The report confuses s. 8. with s. 11.

charge of such a duty ; and if the other had a little knowledge of land surveying, yet he was perfectly inadequate to such an undertaking as surveying the coast ; but captain Columbine was first depended on for knowledge and then incapacitated for the undertaking, by being appointed Governor of Sierra Leone. Messrs. Ludlam and Daw proceeded a little way down the coast ; the former died, and the latter returned to Sierra Leone, where Captain Columbine sat on a hill with a theodolite two or three times, gleaned some assistance from the indefatigable Captain Bones ; made out what they called a Report ; and thus to gratify the select with this piece of patronage, England has uselessly paid above ten thousand pounds!!

The Directors conclude this Report by informing the publick, “ that they had furnished the navy with
 “ such information as might regulate their proceedings ;” and in their appendix Z, they give an extract from our treaty of friendship and alliance with the Prince Regent of Portugal, and an extract from our treaty of commerce and navigation with the same power, and ignorantly confusing the two, they inform the navy *, “ that to give any vessel a title
 “ to the protection of the Portuguese flag in carrying on even their limited trade in slaves, it is
 “ necessary that she should either be built in the
 “ dominions of Portugal, or condemned as prize in
 “ a Portuguese court of admiralty ; and that, in

* See Appendix 2.

“ either of these cases she should be owned by a
 “ Portuguese subject, and that her master and
 “ three-fourths of her crew should be Portu-
 “ guese subjects :” besides, they induced the Lords
 of the Admiralty to send this document as in-
 structions to the navy ; under which authority the
 navy were led into error and expense ; and the
 courts of Vice Admiralty misled in their decisions.
 So much for their interference with the law.

The seven first pages of the sixth Report display
 complete ignorance of the west coast of Africa, the
 state of the slave trade, and the Portugese posses-
 sions. I shall enlarge on these points hereafter.
 The Report proceeds. “ From the information of
 “ captain Cuffee, as well as from other sources, the
 “ directors have had the satisfaction to learn, that
 “ the colony of Sierra Leone is in a visible state
 “ of improvement ; and that its inhabitants, consist-
 “ ing almost entirely of Africans or their descend-
 “ ants, increase in number and respectability. The
 “ effect of the pains which have been taken in in-
 “ structing the youth from the moment the colony
 “ was first formed *, is manifested by the supe-
 “ riority of the rising race of colonists in respect
 “ to intelligence.” I saw Mr. Cuffee in Sierra
 Leone ; he appeared a man of truth and observa-
 tion ; and I know he constantly lamented, while in
 the colony, the dreadful state of depravity into which
 it was sunk ; from this, and the general fallacious-

* Sixth report, p. 28.

ness of the Reports, I am led to conclude he never gave such incorrect information.

The Report then declares, "the directors are disappointed not to have had before this time, some more specifick details to produce, with respect to the progress of improvement in Africa, by means of schools*, and other institutions under the patronage of the society." Is not this a most extraordinary assertion to make, under the countenance of some of the first personages in the empire, when there really never was either school or institution under their patronage in the colony? at the same time confessing they have not even a blanded extract to produce, on the progress of improvement.

The Report goes on, "they are anxious however to proceed on some plan, which may remedy this inconvenience, and give a character of greater permanence to their measures; at the same time they greatly doubt, whether at an early period, and until some progress had been made in suppressing the slave trade on those parts of the coast to which their views had been directed, much more could have been done in the way of civilization, than has been effected."

I call on them to shew any one instance of civilization they have effected, or even attempted: They affect to attribute their want of knowledge

of the improvements they have made to the rapid change of Governors; surely this was their own fault; the first Governor they caused to be sent out, after the surrender of the colony to government, was T. P. Thompson, Esq. (eldest son of the member for Midhurst); and a more fortunate selection they could not have made, for he is a gentleman of high talents and acquirements; from mind and body incomparably qualified for that station; a true, zealous, and practical abolitionist; possessing great activity, and a hardihood of constitution that indefatigable exertion (even in that climate) could not subdue; a facility at attaining the native languages; courage that nothing could awe, and integrity that nothing could shake: but he was not complying; he could not be induced to be subservient to their views. Instead of lending his assistance to conceal the illegal transactions that had taken place in the colony, he condemned in the court of Vice Admiralty 167 negroes, who had been sold in the colony since the abolition, by the direct interference of the colonial government!! nor would he continue the system of misrepresentation to the Secretary of State, or furnish fallacious documents for the African Institution. Truth and honour were his disqualifications; he was recalled. But they have had a governor for nearly four years, perfectly suited to their wishes; and I wonder they have not published *his* accounts of the progress the Institution has made, in civilizing

* The record of this is in the High Court of Admiralty, and well worth reading.

Africa, or enlightening the rising generation at Sierra Leone.

The seventh Report commences with the same fallacious representations, "that the Slave trade was diminishing;" whereas the Portuguese at that time having learned to confine themselves more to Ajuda, Cabenda, Princes, and Saint Paul's de Loanda, pursued it more vigorously and with more security. The Directors conceive, "that the opinion they expressed last year, respecting the nature of the slave trade still existing is correct; (viz.) that a large portion of it is real Portuguese trade; and a portion still greater is a British American trade, carried on by assuming the Spanish or Portuguese flag; and that the real Spanish trade, if any, is very small indeed*." Every part of this is incorrect; the Portuguese trade was infinitely the largest; the Spanish trade to the Havannah, large also; the Americans had very little connexion with the trade, except in navigating for the Spaniards; and the British were still less concerned in any way.

Why the Institution are so fond of implicating the British in this trade, I cannot divine. The ship with British property captured at Goree, under Spanish colours, they assert was a slave trader; whereas it was proved she had no connexion with that trade: next, a ship captured by the Kangaroo, with two hundred and seventy slaves, they say, had

* Page 3 of Report.

a cask with papers concealed, which proved her to be the property of a house in Liverpool. This is entirely unfounded.

On the 51st of the King, c. 23, commonly called the Slave Felony Act, (of which they now speak) I must dilate more particularly ; so much mischief has been done, and so much misery has arisen from a wilful misconstruction of this excellent, and perspicuous Act, which states, " that if
 " any *British subject*, or any person residing in
 " the united kingdom, or any island, colony, do-
 " minion, fort, settlement, factory, *belonging*
 " *thereto, or being in his Majesty's occupation or*
 " *possession*, shall by him, or themselves, or by
 " his or their factors, agents, or otherwise, carry
 " away any slave or slaves, for the purpose of
 " being transferred, or dealt with as a slave ; or
 " aid and abet," &c. &c. Under this Act, to my great surprise and annoyance, Samuel Samo, and Charles Hickson were brought before me, as British subjects trading in slaves ; they were seized by Governor Maxwell's order at the Isles de Loss, for selling slaves in the Rio Pongus ; neither of which places were ever considered as belonging to Great Britain, nor did British jurisdiction ever extend over them in any shape. A great body of evidence was brought against these men ; they were both proved to be British subjects ; Samo was found guilty, and Hickson was acquitted. I found, however, so many insurmountable difficulties (for I was bound to protect the legal rights of the pri-

soner), that I informed the Governor, I could not pronounce the sentence directed by the Act on Samo; and to prevent my reasons from being publicly known (lest they might affect the Abolition cause), I advised the Governor to send to the Rio Pongus, induce the chiefs to ask for Samo's pardon, and influence them to promise, that if their petition was granted, they would allow no more slave-trading in their dominions. This was most judiciously executed by the gentleman who undertook the mission; the white men, who had slave factories on that river, also joined in the request. Samo was pardoned; I was extricated from a most unpleasant predicament, and a great effect produced in favour of the Abolition. However, since I left Sierra Leone, H. M. S. *Thais*, went to Messurado, (to which we never claimed any right of territory, and over which we never exercised any jurisdiction,) destroyed the factory and property of Messrs. Bostwick and M'Quin, arrested their persons; and above 240 of the natives, promiscuously seized, were brought to Sierra Leone, and condemned as slaves. Bostwick and M'Quin, were under this Act most illegally tried, convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation; they were afterwards sent to England, and by the mischievous interference of some persons, called benevolent, all examination into their case was prevented, and the unfortunate men have been absolutely sent off to Botany Bay.

H. M. S. *Favourite*, pursuing the same unwar-

rantable system, went into the Rio Pongus, destroyed some factories, seized on a great number of natives, brought them to Sierra Leone, and had them condemned as slaves. Lastly, Governor Maxwell fitted out a complete expedition; sent the colonial Brig and Schooner, and a Transport (then under his command) with a large party of the African Corps; destroyed all the factories they could reach in the Rio Pongus and Rio Noonez, with all the property contained in them; left the white inhabitants absolutely destitute; carried away about 230 natives, whom he caused to be condemned as slaves; then his acting judge tried, and caused to be convicted several white men, under authority of this act, whom the party had seized, or who had voluntarily surrendered themselves; sentenced Hickson, (one of them) to hard labour on the publick works; Brodie, Dunbar, and Cook, to fourteen years transportation; the first a British subject; the next a Spaniard; and the other an American*.

This conduct will scarcely find a parallel in the history of any civilized nation on earth. We invade with fire and sword the territory of our peaceable, and inoffensive, friendly allies; without any injury being received, complaint made, or notice on our part given, we carry away their subjects, destroy their possessions, and seize those persons, who had lived under their protection from ten to twenty

* The fate of these unhappy men will be seen by referring to a note in the last page.

years; pillage their Domiciles' property, and, to fill the measure of misery, sentence them (under an Act which could not attach to them) to the most severe and ignominious punishments. I should be happy to witness the indignation of the learned and humane framer of this Act, on reading a full account of these atrocities.

But could any Act of Great Britain have attached to those men, nothing should have excused this violation of every principle of the law of nature and nations. This repeated breach of publick faith; this affixing to the name of Englishman, the epithet of perfidious depredator, under the mask of civilizer and liberator, was the most unpardonable insult ever offered to the honour and feelings of Great Britain; and afterwards to convict two foreigners, seized in foreign territory (Cook and Dunbar), under an Act which attaches only to British subjects, or others in British territory, was the most unprecedented piece of judicial ignorance and cruelty ever recorded. Besides, this conduct must accumulate cruelty on the wretched negro beyond our conception. Every person acquainted with Africa knows, that the slaves in the factories of white men, are infinitely better taken care of, than in the factories of black men; who are less considerate as to the treatment they give, and less provident in the provisions they collect. There is more severity, and often danger of starvation with the black Chiefs, when they are long disappointed of their market; but should the Chiefs be without a

supply of slaves when a ship arrives, they will instantly seize all within their reach ; no friendship, no faith, no relationship, restrains them ; the pawns, the persons committed to their charge, or bequeathed by will, the visitor, the Grumeta, the wife, or the child, must go to furnish the cargo.

Even had the Sovereign of the country invited us to a perfidious destruction of the white man's property, common humanity, as well as honesty and justice, should have forbidden our acquiescence. Why then, in addition to every thing treacherous, inflict this gratuitously accumulated calamity, upon those for whom we profess the most liberal feeling, and for whose happiness and civilization it is published to the world, that we are making every political sacrifice, and every national exertion ? can this be done for the purpose of extracting from the Treasury, so much a head for those natives seized, who have been unwarrantably condemned at Sierra Leone as slaves ? Sir, I hope you will feel yourself bound to demand investigation of this conduct, and assist in relieving us from this national disgrace, though your Reports have unbecomingly encouraged it by the most inapplicable applause.

The Report proceeds * ; “ No point which has come
“ under the consideration of the Board during the
“ last year, has more anxiously or constantly en-
“ engaged its attention, than the amendment of the

“ Acts passed for the Abolition of the slave trade,
 “ and the better disposal of the slaves, captured
 “ under the authority of those Acts.” This was
 wise and just; felt in 1812, declared in 1813, and
 slumbered over to 1815. Now I shall give a faithful
 account of the manner in which the captured
 negroes were treated during my residence at Sierra
 Leone, after they were liberated by the court, and
 supposed free; perhaps it may animate this dor-
 mant suggestion into practical activity. It is at
 least necessary that his Majesty’s ministers, from
 whom the reality has been sedulously concealed,
 should know the truth of those transactions, by
 which our honour and good faith have been so
 indelibly stained.

As soon as the captured negroes were landed,
 and delivered to the care of the Superintendent, a
 party from the African Corps was sent to examine
 them; and as many as they found peculiarly fit to
 be made soldiers, were marched to the fort, and as
 it is termed, enlisted; though the poor negro knew
 not what was said, or done to him. The remainder
 were dispatched to what was called an hospital, a
 wood building, composed of two rooms, with an open
 communication, where the whole were huddled to-
 gether in promiscuous intercourse, men, women,
 and children. The recruiting party for the West
 Indian regiments were afterwards allowed to select
 the men and boys that were fit for, or might shortly
 become fit for military service.

The women and girls were next selected for the basest of purposes*.

The best of the rising generation were reserved for the plantations and farms of those in authority over them; and lastly, the settlers obtained the refuse as apprentices for fourteen years, to make them hewers of wood, carriers of water, and drudges on their Cassada ground.

Thus we seized our Allies property, because under their Treaty, we declared they had no right to enslave those unfortunate beings; and then, without any Treaty, in violation of our national declaration, and the promulgation of our determination to dispense impartial justice and universal benevolence to the Africans, we disposed of, and dispersed them with arbitrary appropriation; we allowed them to touch the law of England, only to be torn from its protection; to change their masters, not their condition; and fortuitously better or embitter their original destinations! Surely this is a national disgrace that cannot be suffered to continue!

The captured negroes are delivered by the

* To induce the black soldier to regularity, he was allowed a wife and a ration a day, but the lady he changed as he thought proper; whatever woman he called his wife, got the ration; and when a party was sent to the West Indies, the situation of the women became most deplorable. The conduct of those high in office with respect to the captured negro girls, is now under consideration.

Marshal of the court into the care of the Superintendent, who is answerable for every one of them: let him be obliged to make a return of all the thousands of captured negroes brought to Sierra Leone since the year 1807; how they were disposed of, and where they now are to the best of his knowledge and belief: you may then learn how the benevolent objects of the British nation have been carried into effect, by those placed in their stations at your recommendation; from whom your representations are derived; and who look to you at this moment, for patronage and promotion,

Had the captured negroes, when liberated from their prison ships, been suffered to enjoy the blessings of British protection; had villages been established, the families unsevered allotted farms, supplied with implements of agriculture, and with seeds and plants to cultivate for their support, the beautiful amphitheatre of hills enclosing Sierra Leone, would have become an asylum of happiness for five thousand souls, who looked to us for relief, and to whom we were bound and pledged to extend it. They would have been a bulwark of protection to the colony, furnishing a granary of provisions for the inhabitants, and exhibiting the finest African monument of British philanthropy. Look a few pages back; view the picture of their real treatment, and consider what the world must pronounce on this conduct! I cannot dwell longer

on this Report, but shall take up the eighth and last.

In pages four, five, and six, you applaud the conduct of the Thais and Favorite, in destroying the factories and property of the white men at Menurado, and in the Rio Pongus; of their seizing Bostwick and M'Quin, and carrying them to Sierra Leone, where they were tried, convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation; and you conclude by informing us, that "the traders
 " retreated into a strong fort, near the head of the
 " river, and bade defiance to Captain Maxwell and
 " his crew. This flagrant outrage upon the laws
 " of England will doubtless engage the immediate
 " attention of his Majesty's government, and the
 " Directors trust, ere long, will meet with the pu-
 " nishment it deserves." Where is the law of England; that has been outraged? the common law is too pure, and the Statute book not confused, and contradictory enough to exhibit a principle or a paragraph that would countenance such depredations. Are not a set of white men, residing for a number of years in a territory to which we have no claim, over which we have no jurisdiction, while they are countenanced and supported by the Sovereign and Chiefs of that country, justifiable in defending themselves and their property from barbarous invaders? or is it to be expected that his Majesty's ministers (because heretofore they have so indulgently listened to your representations) will

interfere and capetion the violation of every principle of the laws of nature and nations, and direct these predatory and lawless invasions of the dominions of our unoffending friends to be repeated? Did not these unenlightened nations formerly look to us for exemplary justice? yet now they beheld the most wanton violations of every principle of equity upheld by the civilized world; persons and property placed under foreign protection seized upon and destroyed, without any notice given, or even complaint exhibited! what semblance of excuse can be given for so atrocious a breach of good faith and national honour?

In page seven the importance of the cession of the island of Bissao to Great Britain, is represented; yet if we possessed the island, the slave trade would not be diminished; for that trade from the Cape de Verde islands would be proportionally increased, as soon as Bissao was relinquished by Portugal. It might increase the patronage of the little select party of friends—nothing more! In this Report Lord Castlereagh's * exposition of the tenth article of the Treaty of alliance and friendship with Portugal is given, which I shall also subjoin; and and I hope, on more mature consideration, his lordship will extend his construction of that article. Satisfied that no one would more quickly seize any suggestion that would tend to diminish this horrible traffick, than Lord Castlereagh, I shall,

* See Appendix, No. 3.

in a more appropriate place*, give the construction of that article which has pervaded my decisions, (not yet overruled by higher authority,) and which I hope his Lordship, on mature consideration, will more particularly enforce with the contracting power,

In page 16 it is mentioned, " that the American prisoners were induced to assist in erecting mills in Sierra Leone; and that the Governor had hopes of rendering them useful to the colony." We accuse the Americans of seducing our artificers and seamen; here you sanction our doing the same thing ourselves.

But is it not extraordinary that in all the great zeal proclaimed by the company for Sierra Leone, they never sent a mill for cutting timber, or cleaning rice? Nor in seven years have one hundred pounds been expended from the African Institution fund, for the benefit of that colony after all their professions!! Poor Kizil, the old black settler, who sent his bill for work and labour done long since for the Sierra Leone Company, requested of the worthy Mr. William Allen, to purchase a mill from the money he had so justly earned, and send it out; but neither the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, nor the Committee of the African Institution, would attend to the poor old man's demand; he was

* See Appendix, No. 4.

not paid, nor any arbitration allowed; consequently no mill could be purchased.

This frugality about the fund with respect to the colony and Africa in general, and the prodigality exhibited in the next page, obliges me to remark slightly on the expenditure, which I had not originally intended.

Fifty guineas were given to Mr. Macaulay, (lately Secretary, and always Director) for importing into this country above ten tons of white rice from the west coast of Africa. Did this gentleman propose the premium, that he might receive the reward? The proposition was absurd, and the acceptance disgraceful. Mr. Macaulay is the great shopkeeper of the colony; he is the only person that has regular ships in trade from England: the chiefs in the adjacent rivers constantly send rice for the supply of the colony (often beaten clean by their slaves); above ten tons of this was put on board Mr. Macaulay's ship returning to England, and he receives fifty guineas reward! What advantage was this to Africa? And was not the fund intended solely for her benefit?

In the next page, I come to the statement of the funds, and see, "for clothing African boys at school, &c. 14*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*" and "for a piece of plate to Mr. Macaulay, 107*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*"!! Here is parsimony indeed in the natural distribution, and prodigality in an eleemosynary donation. But why

(his profuse expenditure on Mr. Macaulay? He had been serving himself in all that he has done for the Sierra Leone Company or the African Institution; he has obtained every thing by his influence over their leaders; nearly a monopoly of the trade; great freights for his ships; the prize agency of almost every man of war, that has gone to the coast since the Abolition; the supply of the navy on the coast with provisions, &c.; the agency for the Governor and garrison seizures*: in short, the whole control over every thing attached to the colony there, and here, has been with him, not only in the Company's time, but on the surrender of the colony to government; he arranged the offices, and recommended the persons to fill them; he allotted for himself the appointment of King's Agent, and had not a promise made by Lord Grenville, when in office, been executed by the late Duke of Portland, he would have succeeded.

This immediate interference with government from 1807, will more clearly appear from his own letter to Governor Ludlam, which I extract from a pamphlet of the much injured Mr. Grant; it was first published in the African Herald, and may be found in the High Court of Admiralty, as transmitted by Governor Thompson.

* These accumulated sources of wealth arise evidently from the present state of the Abolition; was an universal Abolition effected, or the slave trade universally permitted, it is obvious they must cease: what follows?

“ London, 4th of Nov. 1807.

“ My dear Sir,

“ A word in private respecting
 “ the African Institution. I cannot help regarding
 “ it as an *important engine*. We have many
 “ zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence,
 “ who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can
 “ be done, both for the colony and for Africa. Mr.
 “ Perceval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly.
 “ Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more
 “ immediately lies, is good-humoured and comply-
 “ ing, but his Secretary Mr.

Caret, in pencil.

*In the margin in
 pencil—and Mr.*

Wilberforce de-
 sires me to add,
 disposed from a
 point of honour
 to do the utmost
 for the Aboli-
 tionists.

*Interlineations
 in the original.*

*Words [will ea-
 gerly] defaced.*

*Words in ital-
 ics underscored in
 the original.*

^

I fear

“ Cook is hostile to the whole thing

^

“ may be disposed to
 “ and [will eagerly] seize any cir-
 “ cumstance which will put it in
 “ his power to do us mischief.

“ You will see how very im-
 “ portant it is to be aware of this
 “ in your communications with go-
 “ vernment. Indeed, in all the
 “ ostensible letters you write, whe-
 “ ther to Lord Castlereagh, the
 “ African Institution, or myself, it
 “ will be right to consider the
 “ effect of what you say on luke-
 “ warm friends, and in the hands

with

“ of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix us:

A

“ In such hands there are truths which will be made
 “ to produce all the effect of falsehood, and instead
 “ of being used as they ought to be, as a spur, will
 “ be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot
 “ mean, of course, that you should, in any degree,
 “ varnish your representations. I merely mean
 “ that you should not *unnecessarily* discourage the
 “ exertions of benevolence. People who do not
 “ know you, will suppose the case to be desperate
 “ where you seem to doubt; and your testimony, if
 “ convertible to an adverse purpose, would be for-
 “ midable. Your own mind will suggest to you
 “ the guards, limitations, and exceptions, with
 “ which what I now say should be received.

“ I have no doubt that government will be dis-
 “ posed to adopt almost any plan
 “ which we may propose to them
 “ with respect to Africa, *provided*
 “ we will but save them the trou-
 “ ble of thinking. This you will
 “ see to be highly important.”

*Words in small
 capitals under-
 scored with a dou-
 ble line in the
 original.*

So far appears to be in the hand-writing of an amanuensis; the remainder in the same hand with the signature.

“ I have one remark to make which you will
 “ see to apply to much of what I have written to
 “ you by this conveyance. I am not writing for

" myself, but for others; and am therefore obliged
 " to propose topics of consideration to you, which,
 " but for this circumstance, I myself might have
 " deemed superfluous, and might have saved you
 " the trouble of answering. But if I had time, I
 " could give you several reasons why the same
 " truths will do more good coming from you than
 " from me.

" I ever am, my dear sir,

" Your's very truly,

" Zachary Macaulay."

Thus, this gentleman, who has provided for him-
 self, his relations, and friends; who through this
 influence has insinuated himself at every public
 department, is rewarded for his activity, in advanc-
 ing his own trade, from this African poor-box, (for
 such I may term the funds of the Institution) which
 I was led to consider as a deposit exclusively in-
 tended, " to heal the wounds we had inflicted on
 " the sons of Africa; to civilize and enlighten her
 " benighted inhabitants:" yet I do not find since
 the Institution was established, and an immense sum
 of money subscribed, that as many pounds have
 been appropriated to any purpose beneficial to
 Africa, as in this year appear to have been given
 to this Director.

I shall now more particularly examine how
 many of the wonderful professions of the Institu-
 tion, have been carried into effect; as I have done
 before as to the advantages derived from the Sierra

Leone Company, after their unbounded promises of wealth to England, and blessings to Africa.

The Reports commence with declaring, "that the Institution will diffuse information respecting the productions of Africa, and the agricultural and commercial capacities of that continent." Permit me to ask, where this information is to be found? For after seven years promise made by such men, with such means, surely it should be in existence: or is it possible that it can be still in the womb of time? Has the mountain been so long in labour, and not even produced a mouse?

Next, they were "to diffuse information respecting the moral, intellectual, and political condition of the inhabitants of Africa." Have they advanced a step into the interior? Have they ever attempted any research into the "moral, intellectual, and political condition of the Africans?" Is it not all "the baseless fabrick of a vision?"

Again, they are "to promote the instruction of the Africans, in letters and useful knowledge;" they stated, "that they were opening schools for teaching the Arabick and Soosoo languages; endowing schools for reading and writing English;" but those fine schemes never were put into execution: not one attempt made by them to instruct the poor African in letters, or to afford him any other kind of useful knowledge, that he could ever discover.

Then they proceed to declare their determination
 “ to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives,
 “ to enlighten their minds, &c.” I humbly ask, is
 it by barbarously invading their territory at Messu-
 rado, the Isles de Loss, the Rio Pongus, and the Rio
 Noonez ; by destroying all property and persons
 under their protection, and forcibly carrying off
 about seven hundred natives, without any offence
 being given, or complained of? Is this the way
 to cultivate their friendship, and enlighten their
 minds?

The Institution professed “ to induce them to
 “ substitute a beneficial commerce, in place of the
 “ slave trade, and to introduce amongst them, the
 “ useful arts of Europe.” Now in seven years,
 they never have done any of these things, nor even
 made any attempt to substitute a beneficial com-
 merce in place of the slave trade, or to introduce
 the useful arts of Europe ; but they proceed to
 assure the public, that they are “ to promote the
 “ cultivation of the African soil, by exciting and
 “ directing their industry, by furnishing them with
 “ seeds, plants, and implements of husbandry.”
 When the famous cargo of seed came out, which
 was thrown into the river, the natives, that came
 to Sierra Leone, were offered some ; but it was as
 useless to them as to the settlers ; for they had no
 implements of husbandry, nor any sort of instru-
 ment to prepare the ground for the seed. This was
 the extent achieved, of those boasted exertions.

Lastly, they were "to promote medical discoveries; to obtain a knowledge of the principal African languages; to employ agents, and reward enterprize and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution." Now have they ever attempted to promote medical discoveries? Have they ever attempted to obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa? Have they ever employed agents to reward enterprize and exertion? Surely you must know that they never have made any effort of the sort, or done any one act, which they proposed for the benefit of Africa. In fact, they seem to acknowledge it, in the 17th page of the last Report, for they say, "a numerous Committee was appointed to obtain information, on the state of the black settlers, to excite their industry, and improve their moral habits; and farther to attend to those objects, which are particularly specified at page 4 of the first Report:" these are the very objects I have now stated, though they would not repeat them. Thus in 1814, they speak of reporting on those benefits, which they had promised to confer on Africa in 1807.

Was such a system of delusion ever practised, even in this nation? To conceive the Sierra Leone Company pursuing this scheme for sixteen years, and then the same Directors and managing Secretary, coming forth under a new name, and persevering in the same course for seven years more, under the apparent sanction of the first characters

this pre-eminent nation can boast of, is almost beyond all possible credibility ; and be assured, I often pause, as I write, to consider if fame, wealth, and power, can overawe the investigation of truth ; but as I reflect on the English character, I am encouraged to proceed ; and when the veil is rent, my duty is discharged.

I have now sir, to implore that your little party of friends, may cease to interfere with this unfortunate colony ; for after four and twenty years effort, to observe the settlers in more poverty, and greater wretchedness, than when they were taken under their care ; to see them in age and infirmity without a refuge ; to witness the rising generation more immoral and dissolute, than the inhabitants of any other part of Africa ; and to know that the very persons assigned by Act of Parliament to his Majesty's protection, are plunged into licentiousness, and consigned to arbitrary control, is surely sufficient to force any person attached to truth and humanity, (much more to authorize a person in my station) to entreat that they may rest contented with the patronage they have enjoyed ; the possession of which was well secured, and well arranged, before the transfer of the colony to government, as must evidently appear from Mr. Macaulay's letter, already given, dated the 4th of Nov. 1807 : and that an immense addition was intended to have been claimed even before this, will be established by the following letters, published in the African Herald, and transmitted to the High Court of

Admiralty by Governor Thompson. Mr. H. Thornton, Chairman of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, writes to the governor of Sierra Leone, (dated "London, 7th Feb. 1807,") thus—

" I feel a strong desire to see some measures
 " instituted, which may contribute to place in the
 " hands of zealous and proper persons, the general
 " direction of British concerns in Africa." In support of this, comes a letter from the confidential secretary Mr. Macaulay, to the same Governor Ludlam, dated "London, Feb 26, 1807."

(Extract.)

" What has suggested itself to me as desirable
 " to be done, I will now state in a few words.
 " 1st. To appoint a board which shall confine
 " its attention entirely to Africa, and which shall
 " comprise a few of those individuals, as Mr.
 " Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c. &c. who have
 " interested themselves about Africa. 2ndly. To
 " place under the management of this board, not
 " only Sierra Leone, but Goree, and all the forts
 " on the Gold Coast. 3dly. To station at different
 " parts of the continent, from the river Gambia to
 " Angola, intelligent persons under the name of
 " Consuls, or any other name that may be preferred,
 " (perhaps about a dozen) with adequate appoint-
 " ments, whose business it shall be to procure
 " accurate information respecting the neighbouring
 " and interior countries; and to embrace every

“ favourable opportunity of improving the British
 “ interest in Africa, &c. &c. &c.”

Thus the possessions of the African Company on the Gold Coast, (which produce so much wealth to England) were to be wrested from them, and the influence of this party was to extend from the Gambia to Angola; such an immensity of space for the patronage of man to reach, no one before had the boldness to claim; and I hope no one will ever have the power to obtain; but who so stultified as not at once to perceive the ambition and rapacious avarice that must have generated such a project?

That this plan was long in agitation, no one can now doubt; whether proposed to his Majesty's ministers or not, is beyond my power to develop: however, these letters were obviously written to be echoed by Governor Ludlam; for Mr. Macaulay, in his letter of the 4th Nov. 1807, says, “ the same
 “ truths will do more good coming from you than
 “ from me.” Your secretary, writing under your direction, (as appears from the letter given before) says, “ I have no doubt that Government will be
 “ disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may
 “ propose to them with respect to Africa, *provided*
 “ *we will but save them the trouble of thinking.*” I have now only to hope, as your party have most kindly given them this great assistance for eight years, that they will now allow them to think for themselves; then I make no doubt the Lords of the Treasury, the Lords of the Admiralty, and the Co-

lonial Secretary, will quickly place the Colony on the broad basis of equal and permanent justice.—The little mercantile interest of an individual will be no longer the motive for every action, every appointment, and every regulation; the settlers will become happy; and true piety, pure religion, and sound morality, will be infused: cultivation will be encouraged, civilization extended, and the Colony, though perhaps expensive, will not remain vicious, injurious, and disgraceful to England.

But, Sir, you have still great means of doing good, of advancing the Colony you have founded, and the inhabitants you have caused to be placed there, without interfering with the patronage. You have rich friends, and large funds, and means of procuring bountiful assistance. Present the industrious settler with implements of husbandry, and instruments for artificers; erect the first church with a steeple and bell, that ever was built for our regular service, in Africa; it will be a monument of honour to yourself, and an incitement to public worship. The Secretary of State, I am convinced, will no longer suffer the Colony to be without a regular Church of England Clergyman, and the sanctuary will no longer be profaned.

Establish an Asylum (though you have refused to assist me in that undertaking) for the destitute, the aged, the idiot, and lunatic: it will be the greatest charity you ever promoted, and it is the bounden duty of your party to do so; for they induced, the

settlers to come from places, where some relief would have been administered; those poor creatures have spent their youth in your service, and are now in age, and poverty, deserted and oppressed.

Prevail on your friends also to found two schools apart from each other, one for boys, another for girls; thus they will disseminate knowledge, industry, good morals, and prevent an early and promiscuous prostitution. These will be actions worthy of a saint in heaven; and may likely blot out for ever, many of our sins on earth. Consider what the Institution promulgated to the world; reflect on what you write to Prince Talleyrand, "that Sierra Leone was settled with a view to promote the arts, and the blessings of civilized life, amongst the natives of Africa." Let not your own Colony be called in evidence against you, to prove, that neither have the arts been cultivated in, nor the blessings of civilized life extended to Africa.

I rejoice extremely to learn, from the same Report, that you have formed a determination to bring in a Bill to meliorate the condition of the blacks, and people of colour, in the West Indies; and I sincerely hope you will speedily effect something beneficial from this laudable undertaking.

The idea of a British subject being born a slave in British territory, is repugnant to British feeling. To anticipate the slavery of our offspring before it is engendered, is horrible to human nature; nor

can the issue of illicit love be so consigned; the law does not vest the fortuitous parent with such authority. Let the first clause establish, that every person born within British jurisdiction must be free; it will be not only justice, but policy; for entailed slavery contracts propagation*.

The next state that harrows up the very soul, is interminable slavery. Convince the slave he has no refuge from misery in this world, and you induce him to precipitate himself into the presence of the Omnipotent; by which he expects to regain his country, his family, his happiness, and freedom: therefore when you establish the proposed register for slaves in every island, I hope the value of each slave will be affixed to his name; and the right of emancipation, by a full payment, (giving an equitable notice,) should be the next enactment: by his own indefatigable labour, by a humane friend, or zealous relative, he may then have a chance of becoming free: the very hope will stimulate exertion, incite him to good conduct, and animate every faculty; it will show benevolence to the slave, and prove lucrative to the master.

From the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish Code, for managing their slaves, you may extract many valuable regulations; and I hope on coming within the pale of our Church, our slaves will be rewarded equally with those, who, in

* Vide 8th Report, p. 11, 12.

Roman Catholic countries, come under the rules of that Church. Remember, a Mahometan will not suffer a follower of the Prophet to be sold as a slave: allow not the believers in Christ to be treated with less lenity.

I make no doubt, the most liberal and humane ordinances will be selected from the whole; and many wise, appropriate, and benevolent new ones, will be added. It is a great and beneficent undertaking, fit for the admirable, wise, and actively excellent men, that are members of the African Institution: but the old managers should have a little rest; such as have laboured long in the Sierra Leone Company, and their select friends and relations that have toiled with them ever since; they are nearly worn out in the service, and, without any detriment to the cause, might be excused. New Directors will be more active, and will study to emulate those who have done so much good already! Be assured, a change will be for the better.

I have now, Sir, arrived at the time for addressing you as the Father of the Abolition. I presume, by accepting the appellation, you hold yourself thereto entitled; yet, " 'tis passing strange;" for Mr. Clarkson, (whose active humanity, and indefatigable industry, in the cause of abolition, can never be sufficiently appreciated or applauded,) was certainly engaged in this great cause near twenty years before he enlisted you under his banners. The invaluable and ever to be regretted Mr. Granville

Sherpe, was nearly fifteen years in the cause of injured Africa, before you joined his amiable band of philanthropists. Many other worthy personages, whom Mr. Clarkson's History records, were engaged with him near ten years before your accession; yet you are now held up to this enlightened age, and would be handed down to posterity, as the parent that generated the abolition of slavery, emancipated, enlightened, cultivated, and civilized Africa! Be it as it may: I have examined already the means adopted to effect some of those praise-worthy objects, and how far they have succeeded; now I shall proceed to show, how little your theory extended to pure abolition, and that, practically, you have not been in the slightest degree successful.

That you most laudably assisted Sir William Dobbin, and others, in procuring Bills to be passed for meliorating the condition of slaves in their Transatlantic passage, I delight in acknowledging; but when I behold you for near twenty years professedly struggling with the great and all-commanding minister of this country; whose public measures you supported, whose administration of this government you admired, and to whose private friendship you were devoted; it is wonderful this benevolent measure was not carried. You knew Mr. Pitt was all powerful with his party, and the sole director of his administration: you had a commanding, connected phalanx of friends in Parliament; and, on this occasion, you had the people's support, and the finest feelings of the nation to gratify: yet for twenty years

you did not carry this Bill; though you apparently acted with such a commanding associate. It is evident you never did make it a "*sine qua non*" of the continuance of your support of Mr. Pitt's Administration: the speaking on it, for it, and about it, was "*ad captandum vulgus*:" it served to uphold the pendulum in its vacillancy between the minister and the people.

But what is still more wonderful, a new Administration was formed, to the members of which you were not the devoted friend; of whose measures you were not an unshaken admirer; who were not in themselves all commanding in Parliament; yet by those very men, without hesitation, or delay, this Bill was carried in both Lords and Commons. Did you ever tell Mr. Fox, or Lords Grey and Grenville, that the justice, policy, and humanity of the abolition were so impressed on your conviction, that you could not conscientiously support any ministers, that would not assist you in carrying it into effect? The whole tenour of your language on the subject would have prompted and justified this demand; but you did no such thing; the integrity, the humanity, and the consistency of those distinguished Statesmen, induced them to give their whole, unbribed, and voluntary assistance, in accomplishing this great work. The Bill was evidently carried by their exertions; and cannot be attributed either to your perseverance or benevolence.

Allow me to look at the Abolition Act minutely,

which I hope will not appear to be an offspring of your's, though the features rather proclaim the parent; for you avow it is not slavery, but the Slave Trade, you dislike. In your Letter to Prince Talleyrand, you say, "The abolitionists took all opportunities of proclaiming, that it was the Slave Trade, not slavery, against which they were directing their efforts." The Abolition Act upholds the same principle; but it did not express the true uncontaminated principle, nor the fine feeling of this magnanimous country.

By the seventh Section of the Act, "slaves taken as prizes or forfeitures, may be enlisted for the land or sea-service; or may be bound as apprentices, whether of full age or not, for a term of fourteen years;" and by Section 16th and 17th, it is laid down, "that when the term of apprenticeship has expired, they may be apprenticed anew; and the service of a negro soldier is directed to be for life;" so that here is involuntary servitude for life, established by an Act of Parliament, purporting to abolish slavery. The soldier may endure some sea sickness in crossing the Atlantic, I suppose, because he receives some compensation; but here is a permanent, sedentary slavery for life, under the name of apprenticeship, without any compensation, established by this liberating Act of our Legislature; and the seat of this new slavery is in Freetown, in the colony founded by the most benevolent men, on the most liberal plan: exalted as the freest spot on earth, to enlighten benighted Africa; and

displayed to the world as the finest example of British liberty, and British philanthropy !!!

But with sorrow I must declare, this substitute for the slave trade, appears evidently to have been a premeditated plan, well laid before the Act passed, from the interesting letter which your worthy Secretary, Mr. Macaulay, wrote to Governor Ludlam, dated London, 7th of May, 1807*.

EXTRACT.

“ You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this
 “ country on the subject of African slavery.
 “ While the slave trade lasted, I certainly felt
 “ very averse to giving any direct encouragement
 “ to the purchasing of slaves, with a view to the
 “ benefit of their labour for a certain given period ;
 “ but I always looked forward to the event of the
 “ Abolition, as removing many objections to that
 “ system.”

Thus the abolition Act is to give us slaves without purchase, by seizing them from our allies ; and then the framers of this magical act (which is to free and enslave at the same moment), acknowledge, that they look forward to its removing many objections to our purchasing Africans, for the same avowed and specific purpose ourselves ! As I view

* To be found with the others, as before directed.

and consider this whole plan, the Act, the promoters, and the manner in which it has been enforced, I am scarcely able to suppress the language that would express my sensations; however, I must repeat what he says: "You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country, on the subject of African slavery." That is, we are the most abominable hypocrites on earth; proclaiming to the world, that from the finest feelings of justice and humanity, we are abolishing the slave trade; yet, in the most surreptitious manner, we are determined to pursue it vigorously, and raise all tropical produce * by slaves, not in the West Indies, but in Africa.]

The West Indian planters and merchants suffered, and complained long since; but when they perceive the authors of their calamity planning to obtain plantations without purchase, labourers without expense, territory from the Gambia to Angola, and a monopoly of the exports and imports, I fear they will consider this an attempt at their inevitable ruin. The army having taken near three thousand of the finest slaves, may have retarded the benefit of this plan; but though slow, it will be sure. A peace will leave the captured negroes without diminution, or competition. The Brazil and Havannah produce will throw the West Indian planters out of the foreign market; and here will be an effort to undersell them in the home

* Pans for boiling sugar were long since sent to Sierra Leone.

market. But this is too large a field for me; I shall only remark, that Prince Talleyrand, many years past, explained the advantages that would arise to France, by cultivating colonial produce in Africa; though he did not recommend the confiscation of property, that by a fiction might be turned to the very use which caused it to be confiscated.

Sir, I lament being obliged to speak of myself; but our relative situations with respect to the slave trade and Sierra Leone, being the cause of this public address to you, it is necessary to shew what we have both done, what benefit has arisen, and then to point out the best mode my humble efforts can devise, for insuring a secure, perfect, and universal Abolition, by which Africa may be raised from its degraded and besotted state, to its natural elevation in the civilized world.

It is evident that the objects you had in founding the colony of Sierra Leone, have completely failed. The dissipation of your funds proved the injudiciousness of your trade; cultivation and civilization were not attempted. The native Chiefs * considered your servants as faithless and perfidious, your colony was a wilderness, your settlers poor and dissatisfied, and the slave trade nurtured, until Mr. Thompson arrived as governor †.

* Four most extraordinary letters in Arabic from those chiefs to our universally beloved Sovereign, establishing this, and denominating the persons, are now in London, and translated.

† The true state of Sierra Leone, in 1808, will be clearly

The Abolition Act has transferred the slave trade from England to Portugal and Spain; it has thrown our colonies back, and advanced the Brazils and Havannah more in six years, than thirty had done before. Do not let it be supposed, that I would have had the sin and degradation of the slave trade continue to be attached to England: when justice immolates wealth on the altar of humanity, it is an offering grateful to her benevolent spirit; but this Act has scarcely diminished the number of slaves carried from the coast; the Portugal and Spanish trade has so wonderfully increased, that the difference is insignificant since ours was abolished, and what is worse, it has augmented the negroes' sufferings in the trans-Atlantic passage: the Brazil ships are not only filled most unmercifully, but the Spaniards (in general) from the Havannah, fearful of our cruisers †, come without irons, and therefore, for security, stow those unoffending Beings into the hold, like lumps of Cam wood; never opening the hatchways more than once a day, to convey food in, and drag the dead out. It is thus literally a fact, that securing them with irons, was mercy compared to committing them to

seen from documents sent to the High Court of Admiralty by Governor Thompson; from his correspondence with Lord Castlereagh (then Secretary of State for the Colonies); from the Protest of the Governor and Council against the Abolition Act; and the system of apprenticeship, transmitted for the Privy Council; and lastly, from Governor Thompson's memorial to the Treasury in 1813.

† Appendix, No. 5.

suffocation, by confinement in the hold of their vessels; from whence they cannot emerge to fresh air, until they arrive at their final destination.

I do not conceive we are even redeemed from the sin of this trade. Africa, and the Abolition cause, cannot derive any advantage by our not carrying the slaves to the West Indies, to make soldiers of them there, if we make soldiers of them in Africa, and then transport them to the West Indies; nor can our buying slaves in Africa, and selling them in the West Indies; or seizing them in Africa, and employing them there, under the name of apprentices, on the same labour for life without pay or reward, benefit Africa, or promote Abolition. Certainly fewer negroes may be enslaved by us in this way than formerly; but I think if a person purchases a slave, and does not expect a constant supply, he will be more likely to treat his slave leniently, than the person who obtained him for nothing, and may expect a supply on the same terms. The number might be diminished, but the cruelty will be increased.

Thus, the real Abolition of slavery seems to have been as little served, and the true object of annihilating the slave trade as little promoted, as the promises of the Company or Institution for remunerating, cultivating, and civilizing Africa, have been carried into effect. Yet I do not mean to attribute all this to you. I do not mean to exhibit this as

your original intention. No; "they have entwined about the easy hearted man, to hug him into snares."

Uninstructed by those in authority, unaided by the learned, and removed from the power of research, I put in force the law of every nation; where it restrained the subject from the practice of this diabolical traffic; because I was convinced no nation would attempt to induce England to encourage, what her own laws had forbidden.

Where the law of nations could assist this great cause of justice and humanity, I called it to my support, and to the Treaty of Portugal I gave the most liberal construction*; satisfied that the Prince Regent of Portugal, from his wise determination, benevolence, and love of justice, would not claim more dominion than he actually possessed, for the purpose of increasing a trade he had considered a disadvantage. Therefore, when he declared his resolution to confine his subjects to the dominions he actually possessed, and gradually to abolish the trade, the highest compliment I could pay him, was to support those beneficent declarations which he had bound himself to Great Britain to enforce. I did accordingly restrain his undutiful subjects; and whenever I found they had obtained slaves from any place not actually in the dominions of Portugal, I relieved them of their illegitimate cargo. By these

* Vide Appendix, No. 4, given at length.

means, I was providentially the cause of liberating about two thousand five hundred innocent Africans, and delighted in the prospect of practically benefiting the Abolition of slavery; but my joy was quickly turned to commiseration. The human beings passed free from the judicial authority, only to be subjugated anew! Thus by the Act of Abolition is the slave trade restricted, but the slavery unrestrained; and by means of that Bill, supposed to be your own formation, I may be said to have benefited the cause, as little as yourself.

Now, Sir, after twenty-seven years of injudicious exertion in the cause of Abolition, allow me to entreat of you to relinquish all farther interference. Suffer it to rest with the noble Lord, into whose care the executive authority of this empire has intrusted its completion.

Your Secretary, in his letter to Governor Ludlam (already given), dated London, 4th Nov. 1807, says, " Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business
" more immediately lies, is good humoured and
" complying;" and Mr. Wilberforce desires me to add, " disposed from a point of honour to do the
" utmost for the Abolitionists."

Surely there never was any person more disrespectfully and unfairly treated by those defective Abolitionists, than this Nobleman; who, in 1806, declared " his rooted abhorrence of the slave trade;" who, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has made

perpetual exertions with the Court of Brasil, and has induced many European Powers to join this glorious confederacy against African slavery.

As to France, His Most Christian Majesty has declared by Treaty *, " that he agrees with his Britannic Majesty as to the principle of the slave trade being repugnant to natural justice; that his subjects shall not carry it on above five years; that the slave merchant shall not import or sell, but in the colony of the nation of which he is a subject; and lastly, that he will join his efforts to induce every Power in Christendom to decree such an Abolition, as will oblige it universally to cease in five years."

What could be expected more from that great and independent nation? In return for conquests restored on the Continent, she was to receive from Great Britain, some of her colonies in Africa, and in the West Indies; we were bound to deliver them unconditionally. She could not form an exact notion how those colonies were circumstanced; and therefore to place her on an equality with Portugal and Spain (whom we have permitted, and do permit, to carry on the trade), she asks five years for her own subjects to trade to her own colonies, during which time she will make every exertion to have it universally abolished.

* Vide Treaty with France, 1814.

Could the King of France, in justice to his subjects, have done more? In the unsteady situation he was then placed, ought we to have asked more? And if he had precipitated himself into a declaration for immediate Abolition, against the wishes of his subjects, what great benefit would have followed? The universal consent of the civilized nations of the world would not have been instantly obtained, as the late decision of Congress has demonstrated. Portugal and Spain would have continued and increased their trade in proportion, and rendered the philanthropy of France, as abortive as they have rendered the Abolition Act of Great Britain; they would have supplied the French colonies, adding cruelty to captivity; and from being pertinaciously atrocious, would have defeated every humane exertion.

Certainly, unbounded applause would have attached to the negotiator, if the Abolition of the slave trade had been included in the Treaty; and Lord Castlereagh must be alive to national applause; therefore Fame alone would have been a sufficient incentive to his utmost exertion in the cause: but every dispassionate person will allow, that his Lordship could not, though he would, have obtained more from France; he ought not, if he could, have shaken the seat, on which we had just placed the Monarch; for it would not firmly and permanently have established universal Abolition, though it might have renewed the calamities of Europe, without ending the miseries of Africa.

Had his Lordship been decried; had the approbation he received for the treaty been diminished by his fair opponents, it might have been natural; but to be blown upon by those who are the constant supporters of every Administration, at the moment he was labouring for their own measures, was as little consistent in them, as injurious to his Lordship.

But this is not all; every thing deserving praise is to be attributed to others. Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to acquire information concerning the windward coast. A very intelligent merchant in the city supplied the materials. His Lordship communicated with the Duke of Wellington, and obtained from the French Monarch a grand concession, "that his Majesty's subjects should not trade for slaves, North of Cape Formosa." Immediately an extract of a letter appears in our newspapers, (as from Mr. Wilberforce to a friend), stating, that he (Mr. W.) had received a letter from the Duke of Wellington, informing him, that his Grace had obtained this desirable relinquishment of the coast; as if Mr. Wilberforce and the gallant Duke had achieved all this without the concurrence, advice, or assistance of Lord Castlereagh. I write from the Paper, and the effect it carried in my apprehension at the moment. I am no eulogist "as Brutus is;" but will state the truth, though it may appear panegyric; for when truth is panegyric, it ought not to be withheld. The able Statesman, into whose hands this great cause is intrusted, has done well; very well. Let not those, who *pretend* to be Abolitionists, retard his efforts by

detraction. I hope all true Abolitionists will encourage, by doing justice ; will incite, by acknowledgment ; and stimulate, by praise. His Lordship will then (for it is human nature) be still more zealously indefatigable in this glorious Cause.

When the French Monarch finds Saint Domingo invincible, the necessity for a great supply of slaves will cease ; and he will be more inclined to gratify his benevolent wishes, and perhaps yield some portion of the stipulated period. Lord Castlereagh and the renowned Duke will watch every favourable moment for such a happy occurrence, and secure every practicable advantage.

We have had a fair exposition of the Treaty with Portugal ; but I have no doubt Lord Castlereagh will consider it more profoundly, and enforce the liberal intentions of the Prince Regent of Portugal most strictly. When the Prince removes from the Brazils (though at present he appears to have deferred it), his good wishes may with safety be carried fully into effect ; and I am satisfied Lord Castlereagh, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, will, on the part of Great Britain (with the aid of France), insist, that the gradual Abolition, which Portugal pledged herself to commence in February, 1810, should be completed in 1819 ; and an Abolition of the slave trade commanded by that nation.

Spain becomes now the only nation to humanize. She has few colonies to supply, and no dominions in

Africa to bring slaves from ; therefore she has less cause to complain of restriction, than even Portugal ; yet she has never been restrained by Treaty, nor even by the hazard of an expression of feeling in favour of Africa. But the Royal License, permitting the subjects of Spain to carry on the slave trade, will expire in the year 1816 ; and a renewal of that License, I hope Lord Castlereagh, by direction of the Prince Regent of England, will make every possible exertion to prevent. We have upheld Spain as a nation, because we supposed her struggling for freedom ; yet, at that very time, Spain was depressing Africa, by dragging additional thousands of her sons into slavery.

The Royal License is never renewed, but under a representation from the colonies that a fresh supply of negroes is required. Cuba is the only place of consequence, and I conceive she has been amply stocked, except her new farms ; and if the trade never was to end until every spot of new ground was cultivated, it must continue to eternity. Therefore the first point is now, to conciliate the principal persons at the Havannah. Some “ bona fide” Spanish property has, I fear, been condemned, and the Spaniards in general at the Havannah are much incensed. They have continually opposed our efforts with the Cortes, with the Monarchs in Spain, and lately they sent even to the Congress at Vienna, to prevent any interference in favour of the Abolition. I by no means however despair of their good offices yet in this

great cause. Let us, (by amicable settlement,) restore the full amount of what they are justly entitled to; we may then more peremptorily request justice for Africa; and I think a renewal of the Royal License never will be demanded, if the Havannah merchants are satisfied: on them it solely depends, and by them we may peaceably obtain an Abolition on the part of Spain. Our justice will produce their liberality. I do not speak on surmise, it is worth the trial; for though Spain may for a little hug the chains of despotism and superstition, she will cease to forge fetters for Africa.

But that part of the Treaty with France which should have received unbounded praise, is passed over. The great point to obtain, is to have this traffick in human beings universally declared to be a violation of the law of nature and nations. The determination of France to aid and assist in this, the noble Lord has obtained; and for so doing he has deserved great praise: and this appears the decided opinion of the African Institution, for in page ten of the eighth Report we are informed, "the Directors have long been persuaded that all that can be effected in inducing particular States to renounce the traffick in slaves, however important in itself, will produce but a very partial benefit to Africa, unless, on the conclusion of a general peace, *that renunciation should become general, and be adopted as a part of the standing policy of the great commonwealth of Europe.*"

Nothing can be more true than this; and any person will naturally ask, why you, and your friends, who have always wished to have the management of every thing connected with Abolition, did not unremittingly labour to have the slave trade pronounced a violation of the law of nature and nations by the European Powers assembled in Congress? To obtain such a declaration from those wise and enlightened Sovereigns, could not have been difficult; yet I never heard that any attempt had been made to call forth such a declaration with any probability of success, because no solid foundation was laid for such a demand, by proving the trade to be repugnant to the principles of the law of nature. Suppose you had prevailed on that unparalleled Civilian, Sir William Scott, to lay his great mind to the subject? suppose you had induced such an incomparable lawyer as Sir William Grant, to have given his assistance in drawing up a remonstrance against the slave trade; proving this incitement to war, this destruction of all domestic comforts, this severing of every social tie, and this barter of humanity for a roll of tobacco, to be contrary to the law of nature and nations? and that you had caused such a diplomatic document to have been distributed and enforced at this all-powerful Congress; must not the effect have been such as the most devoted abolitionist could have desired?

About sixty years since, four of our great men replied to a Prussian Manifesto against the right of search; it was termed the "unanswerable answer,"

and carried conviction throughout the world; yet *that* was founded on political justice; this argument on Divine truth; for the law of nations is built on the unerring rules of justice, which unchangeably direct every law, human or Divine, for individual man, or collective empire; it is founded on the law of nature, directed by the law of God. Our Saviour says, "We should do unto others, as we would they should do unto us." Puffendorf defines the law of nature, "to be the great rule prescribed by our Saviour, of doing to men, as we would be done by." Hobbs proves it thus; "The rule to try the law of nature by is this; whenever you are going to commit any act against any person, suppose yourself in the place of that person, and act by him as in similar circumstances you would wish him to act by you." If slave traders would follow this rule, the trade would perish by an act of suicide!

Cicero, in his beautiful fragment, considers the law of nature and nations the same. Grotius defines the "*Lex Naturæ* to be just consequences, drawn from natural principles;" and the "*Jus Gentium* to be the universal consent of nations to those principles."

Vattel defines the law of nations "to be a just and rational application of the law of nature to the affairs and conduct of nations."

It is indisputably allowed, that the slave trade is

a violation of justice, humanity, and the first principles of universal jurisprudence; thus it cannot be supported by that law which is built on natural justice, and founded on Divine precept; would not this subject, enforced by the powerful arguments of such pre-eminent men as I have mentioned, have been irresistible? they would have illumined, they would have convinced, and like the divine rod of Aaron, have dispersed the serpents of the magicians. Why was not such a remonstrance obtained and dispersed?

I think it might have been effected with as much ease*, at as little expence, and perhaps might have rendered as much service to the cause, as Mr. Wilberforce's letter to Prince Talleyrand. Yet it will be reiterated, that this all-instructive epistle is the Talisman "to appal the guilty, set mad the free," and insure universal Abolition.

I shudder at the state we are now plunged in. This question, I learn, has been dismissed from the Congress, without an argument being offered in its favour. Spain and Portugal resisted the interference of those mighty Sovereigns with this subject, because "they did not interfere with the territorial divisions in Europe." (I write from general report.) Surely this was not a sufficient reason to induce those powerful Potentates to re-

* Eighth Report Account, "paid for a large number of Mr. Wilberforce's Letter on the slave trade, 89l. 4s. 6d."

"inquit their duty? for Vattel lays it down,
 (Prelim. 13,) " That the object of the great so-
 " ciety, established by nature between all nations,
 " is the interchange of mutual assistance for their
 " improvement; and the first general law that we
 " discover in the very object of the society of na-
 " tions, is that each individual nation is *bound to*
 " *contribute every thing in her power to the hap-*
 " *piness and perfection of all the others.*"
 Did not this law conclusively bind them to interfere
 and contribute to the happiness and perfection of
 Africa? The same great author informs us, that
 the second general law is, " That every nation
 " should be left to the peaceable enjoyment of
 " that liberty, which she inherits from nature."
 No one can deny that the slave trade destroys
 the peaceable enjoyment of liberty; surely the
 Sovereigns in Congress should have imperatively
 said, " We are in duty bound to enter into this
 " question; we are assembled for the preserva-
 " tion of other nations; to secure them from ruin,
 " contribute to their perfection, render them justice
 " ourselves, and to use all proper endeavours that
 " such justice be universally dispensed."

Such is the sound principle those mighty Monarchs
 would have declared, and could have supported
 their determination by the highest authority.
 Vattel, writing on the duty of nations, (b. 2. c. 1.)
 says, " No one nation should hinder another from
 " attaining the end of civil society, or render her
 " incapable of attaining it; which general prin-

"ciple forbids nations to practise any evil manœuvres tending to create disturbances in another state, to foment discord, to corrupt its people, to raise enemies, or deprive it of natural advantages." The slave trade surely creates all those evils. Then they might have concluded; "the learned Grotius (de Jure, B. and P. L. 2nd. C. 20.) asserts, that a Sovereign may justly take up arms to chastise nations which are guilty of enormous transgressions against the law of nature:" and thus, from their general conduct, I am authorized in saying they would have replied, had they been ably incited by a learned and eloquent remonstrance addressed to them when assembled on the great bench of justice, declaring and enforcing the law of nature and nations, for the prosperity, protection, and happiness of mankind. A dictum, that the slave trade was contrary to the law of nature and nations, would have issued; those merciless miscreants that avariciously persevere in it, might then have been seized on in their true character, "hostes humani generis," and annihilated: but in truth I cannot any where discover, an effort declaratory of a sincere determination to have this trade exterminated!!!

The late decision of Congress, now ultimately leaves the completion of this question with Lord Castlereagh; who I hope will cease to communicate privately with those pilferers of his popularity; from which I anticipate the most favourable result: for although we have lost the opportunity of catch-

ing the collective concurrence of the Sovereigns of Europe, yet we may obtain their individual acquiescence to establish this traffick in fellow-creatures, a violation of the law of God, of Nature, and of Nations. France has pledged herself to aid and assist Great Britain in the completion of this great work, lovely in the contemplation of God and man; the finest feelings of this empire will be gratified; and the Statesman under the crown of England, who shall be the instrument in obtaining this fulfilment of our wishes, by his zeal, his wisdom, his benevolence, and perseverance, will deservedly enjoy, the Christian's blessing, and the Negro's prayer.

I have said Sir, I would rejoice to see you resign the prominent part you have so unsuccessfully taken, in abolishing the slave trade; because I am satisfied it is now placed in as able and zealous a person's direction, as could have been selected. Let him only be fanned by a little of the same popular breath, that has so long kept alive your exertions, and every desirable object will be accomplished in five years; though for five and twenty, in the blaze of popularity, nothing beneficial was effected by you.

But you proclaim your desire, that "Africa
" should be cultivated, and civilized; commerce
" with England established, and the arts intro-
" duced." As I have said before, you have a strong and rich party, that go together naturally; for their object is power, and their means, the force

of consolidated numbers. To support, and be supported, is the bond of union. The Societies you lead, are rich, and would be richer, if their funds were not uselessly lavished, for private advancement, blandishment, or emolument; yet if you will forward your professed objects, you can still render great benefit to Africa. Present annually the native Chiefs, who have relinquished the slave trade, with something useful or contributory to their comfort. It is but justice; for if the Chief loses his comforts by the exertions of England, he may naturally look to England for some compensation; until other sources are opened, from whence he can attain a supply, give him implements of agriculture, and the instruments used by mechanics; you may quickly observe to what good use they will be turned; give a few articles for common use, and some thing for luxury, as tobacco, bafts, beads, a little rum, a little powder and shot, and a few fowling pieces. The Chieftains may *then* begin to think the white men honest, and really desirous to befriend them; though at present they have no such belief; while we are useful, they will have intercourse, and when friendly they will have confidence: having obtained this foundation, you may safely send persons to instruct the rising generation. Thus you raise the superstructure; establish a market for the natural productions of the country, and the superfluities of labour; then you will soon convince every Potentate on that continent, how much more valuable it is, to employ the hands of their fellow-creatures, than to barter their bodies. After

this confidence is obtained, they will count you into the interior ; as you contribute to their comforts and gratifications, they will give you their commerce and wealth ; there will be a reciprocity of commercial advantages, now buried under suspicion ; and when you infuse knowledge into the children, the next generation will imbibe the principles of justice, and the precepts of religion. Thus you will at length facilitate civilization, and increase the happiness of Africa ; while you augment trade, and pour wealth into the lap of England.

On this subject I could enlarge with pleasure ; point out the Chiefs, and the places on the coast, (the patronage of which you wished to possess) from the Gambia, to Angola ; but I am exhausted ; fearful that few who read this will completely understand it, because few are conversant with the west coast of Africa, the slave trade, the Abolition Acts, the Company and African Institution Reports, or the deplorable state of Sierra Leone. I would labour to render the entire subject perspicuous, but the hour of my departure may be at hand, and the moment to procure investigation must not be lost.

I have no time for condensation ; not even for sufficient correction. All I could do privately, I have done ; but my exertions were vain. I wrote to you from Africa ; I spoke to you here ; Mr. Allen persuaded you to call me before a Committee of the African Institution, which I found to be made up

of the select friends of the party, and a few disinterested and amiable, but timid men. I expected nothing, and was not disappointed. They considered, it would be dangerous to impeach the management, curtail the patronage, or contract the mercantile interest, of an old directing servant and friend.

. You then importuned me, until I promised to make written remarks on your Reports, which I assured you were "delusive and fallacious from beginning to end." I complied with your request, and satisfied you I said nothing, that I would not write; or that I would write nothing, I could not prove; for I concluded my Introduction thus, "I only request, in return for the trouble I have taken, that if I have said, or have written any thing on which a doubt can hang, that I may be called on for farther proof, and it shall be immediately given." Yet in private it was whispered there was no proof of what I had said, or written, though I offered it; and though I caused to be brought before you, three of the oldest, most intelligent, most respectable, and most independent gentlemen, you yourselves ever sent to the colony; for Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Nichol, were all servants to the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards held considerable offices under the crown. But every thing beneficial to Sierra Leone, to Africa, or to England, to support your own professions or promises, to expose the defalcation of funds, or the aggrandizement of individuals, was to

be prohibited ; every sacrifice was to be made to concealment ; no inquiry to be instituted, no attention paid to any representation ; lest exposure should tear the pillars from under the Temple of Promise, and the fame of the very elders perish in the ruins.

I was misrepresented, lest my representations should have been attended to, or consultation, or reference lead to disclosure. This appeal was my " *dernier resort* ;" I embraced it ; and have written most rapidly the foregoing pages, in sickness and anxiety ; while every energy of my mind was enfeebled by oppression and annoyance. But I am released from a weight of responsibility and care ; I have discharged a great duty ; and my mind is relieved ; with pleasure I look on these sheets however defective ; and deliver them to the publick, with the determination of a man, that has laboured to do well ; and I hope with a spirit, that depression could not make pusillanimous, nor elevation arrogant.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT THORPE.

FOLEY PLACE,

Feb. 1, 1815.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE writing the foregoing pages, it has given me great pleasure to learn, that the Secretary of State, (actively alive to the call of justice and humanity) has already relieved the unfortunate Messrs. Brodie, Cook, and Dunbar, from the misery of confinement in the Hulks; the Lords of the Treasury and other Public Departments will soon perceive the fœtid fountain from whence they have heretofore derived their information concerning this mischievously managed colony of Sierra Leone; rapacity will then be restrained and persecution chastised, but when the period arrives for the healing balm of retribution to flow from the King in Council, and His Majesty's Courts of Law, "there will be a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Petition from the Nova Scotia Settlers, to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, in 1793.

“ THAT your Petitioners are sensible of, and
“ thankful for, the good intended, by sending them from
“ Nova Scotia to this country; and, in return, assure the
“ Directors, they are well inclined to assist the Company’s
“ views all in their power.

“ That they are grieved beyond expression to be forced to
“ complain of hardships and oppressions loaded on them by
“ the Managers of the Colony, which, they are persuaded,
“ the Directors are ignorant of.

“ That the promises made by the Company’s Agents, in
“ Nova Scotia, were preferable to any ever held out to them
“ before; and, trusting the performance of them, (with the
“ Almighty’s assistance, and their own industry,) would better
“ their condition, induced them to migrate here. That
“ none of those promises have been fulfilled, and it has been
“ insinuated to them, that Mr. Clarkson had not authority

“ for making any, they therefore beg to be informed, whether such is the case or not, and that the Directors will point out on what footing they are considered.

“ That health and life is valuable and uncertain; that notwithstanding they labour under the misfortune of wanting education, their feelings are equally *acute* with those of *white* men, and they have as great an anxiety to lay a foundation for their children's freedom and happiness as any human beings can possess. That they believe the Directors wish to make them happy, and that they think their sufferings are principally due to the conduct of the Company's Agents here, which, they suppose, have been partially represented to the Directors.

“ That Mr. Clarkson had promised, in Nova Scotia, among other things, they should be supplied with every necessary of life, from the Company's stores, at a moderate advance of ten per cent. on the prime cost and charges. That while Mr. Clarkson remained in the Colony, they paid no more: but since then, they have been charged upwards of a *hundred* per cent. That they would not grumble even at that, if the worst of goods were not sold, and paltry advantages taken of them, particularly in the article of rum. That they had known, by Mr. Dawes's order, several puncheons filled up with thirty gallons of water each; and even, though thus reduced, sold to them at a more exuvagant price than they had ever paid before.

“ That the only means they have of acquiring those goods, is by labouring in the Company's service; and even this they are deprived of, at the whim of Mr. Dawes, or any other gentleman in office, which they consider a prodigious hardship, as it is the only resource whereby they can provide bread for their families. That, out of mere pique,

“ several have been discharged from service, and not permitted, even with their little savings, to purchase provisions from the Company’s store-house, the only one here.

“ That Mr. Clarkson informed them before he sailed for England, the Company had been mistaken in the quantity of land they supposed themselves possessed of, and in consequence only one fifth-part of what was originally promised them (the petitioners) could be at present performed; which quantity the surveyor would deliver them in a fortnight at farthest, but they should have the remainder at a future time.

“ That they should have been satisfied had they got one-fifth of their proportion in *good land*, time enough to have prepared a crop for the ensuing year, but the rains are now commenced, and the surveyor has not finished laying out the small allotments, which he might have done had he not relinquished the work as soon as Mr. Clarkson sailed; and the greater part of those he has surveyed are so mountainous, barren, and rocky, that it will be impossible ever to obtain a living from them.

“ We will wait patiently until we hear from you, because we are persuaded you will do us justice; and if your Honours will inquire into our sufferings, compassionate us, and grant us the privileges we feel entitled to from Mr. Clarkson’s promises, we will continually offer up our prayers for you, and endeavour to impress on the minds of our children the most lasting sense of gratitude,” &c. &c.

No. II.

" PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE.

" *Copy of the Tenth Article of the Treaty of*
 " *Friendship and Alliance between HIS BRITANNIC*
 " *MAJESTY and His Royal Highness*
 " *THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL, signed*
 " *at Rio de Janeiro the 19th of February 1810;*
 " *and published by Authority.*

" " His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal,
 " being fully convinced of the injustice and impolicy of the
 " Slave Trade, and of the great disadvantages which arise
 " from the necessity of introducing and continually renew-
 " ing a foreign and factitious population for the purpose of
 " labour and industry within his South American dominions,
 " has resolved to co-operate with His Britannic Majesty in
 " the cause of humanity and justice, by adopting the most
 " efficacious means for bringing about a gradual Abolition
 " of the Slave Trade throughout the whole of his dominions.
 " And actuated by this principle, His Royal Highness the
 " Prince Regent of Portugal engages that his subjects shall
 " not be permitted to carry on the Slave Trade on any part
 " of the Coast of Africa, not actually belonging to His Royal
 " Highness's dominions, in which that trade has been dis-
 " continued and abandoned by the Powers and States of
 " Europe, which formerly traded there; reserving, however,
 " to his own subjects the right of purchasing and trading in
 " slaves within the African dominions of the Crown of Por-
 " tugal. It is, however, to be distinctly understood, that the

“ stipulations of the present article are not to be considered
 “ as invalidating or otherwise affecting the rights of the
 “ Crown of Portugal to the territories of Cabinda and Mo-
 “ lembo (which rights have formerly been questioned by the
 “ Government of France), nor as limiting or restraining the
 “ commerce of Ajuda and other ports in Africa (situated
 “ upon the coast commonly called in the Portuguese lan-
 “ guage, the *Costa de Mina*), belonging to or claimed by the
 “ Crown of Portugal : His Royal Highness the Prince Re-
 “ gent of Portugal being resolved not to resign nor forego
 “ his just and legitimate pretensions thereto, nor the rights
 “ of his subjects to trade with those places, exactly in the
 “ same manner as they have hitherto done.’

“ *Extract from the Fifth Article of the Treaty of*
 “ *Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between*
 “ *the above contracting Parties ; signed as*
 “ *above.*

“ ‘ In order to avoid any differences or misunderstanding
 “ with respect to the regulations which may respectively con-
 “ stitute a British or Portuguese vessel, the high contracting
 “ parties agree in declaring, that all vessels built in the do-
 “ minions of his Britannic Majesty, and owned, navigated,
 “ and registered according to the laws of Great Britain,
 “ shall be considered as British vessels. And that all ships
 “ or vessels built in the countries belonging to his Royal
 “ Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, or in any of
 “ them : or ships taken by any of the ships or vessels of war
 “ belonging to the Portuguese Government, or any of the in-
 “ habitants of the dominions of his Royal Highness the Prince
 “ Regent of Portugal, having commissions or letters of marque
 “ and reprisal from the Government of Portugal, and con-
 “ demned as lawful prize in any Court of Admiralty of the said

“ Portuguese Government, and owned by the subjects of his
 “ Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, or any of
 “ them, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the ma-
 “ riners, at least, are subjects of his Royal Highness the
 “ Prince Regent of Portugal: shall be considered as Portu-
 “ guese vessels.’

*Here follows the Commentary, on these Articles,
 by the African Institution.*

“ From these extracts, it appears, that no Portuguese Slave
 “ Trade is lawful which is carried on at any part of the coast
 “ of Africa, not actually under the dominion of the Crown of
 “ Portugal; and that therefore all vessels trading contrary to
 “ this stipulation are liable to seizure. It further appears,
 “ that to give any vessel a title to the protection of the Por-
 “ tuguese flag in carrying on even this limited traffic in slaves,
 “ it is necessary that she should either be built in the domi-
 “ nions of Portugal, or condemned as prize in a Portuguese
 “ Court of Admiralty; and that in either of these cases she
 “ should be owned by a Portuguese subject or subjects, and
 “ that her master and three-fourths of her crew should also
 “ be Portuguese subjects.”

No. III.

*“ Copy of Lord Castlereagh’s Instructions to the
 “ Lords of the Admiralty respecting Portuguese
 “ Slave Ships.*

“ Foreign Office, May 6, 1813.

“ My Lords,

*“ In consideration of complaints received
 “ from the Government of Portugal, respecting certain
 “ seizures of Portuguese ships employed in carrying Slaves
 “ from the coast of Africa, I am commanded by his Royal
 “ Highness the Prince Regent, to desire that your Lord-
 “ ships will be pleased to instruct his Majesty’s cruizers not
 “ to molest Portuguese ships carrying Slaves bona fide on
 “ the account and risk of Portuguese subjects, from ports
 “ of Africa belonging to the crown of Portugal, to the
 “ Brazils: but by this instruction it is by no means intended
 “ that vessels, as hereafter described, should not be brought
 “ in for adjudication, viz.:*

*1. “ A Portuguese ship bound from a Portuguese port in
 “ Africa, with a cargo of Slaves to any port not subject to
 “ the Prince Regent of Portugal.*

*2. “ Any Portuguese ship bound to, or having taken her
 “ departure with a cargo of Slaves from, any port in Africa,
 “ not under the dominion of the crown of Portugal.*

*3. “ Any Portuguese ship, the property on board of which,
 “ being a cargo of Slaves, is other than Portuguese.*

*4. “ Any ship whatever, laden with Slaves, wherein the
 “ ship or the Slaves are in whole, or in part, the property of
 “ a British subject, or of a citizen of the United States.*

5. " Any ship bearing the Portuguese flag, which shall
 " have been fitted up for the conveyance of Slaves at a Bri-
 " tish port, or of which the commander, or other superior
 " officer, shall be a British subject, or citizen of the United
 " States.

" In order to prevent any misapprehension of what is to
 " be considered a Portuguese vessel, it will be necessary to
 " add *, that the 5th Article of the Treaty of Commerce with
 " Portugal of 1810, which defines what shall be considered
 " as a Portuguese ship, applies only to ships claiming entry
 " in British ports, under the favourable duties stipulated in
 " that Treaty, it was never intended to confine the trade of
 " Portugal in all parts of the world to ships of that descrip-
 " tion, much less to expose to capture by that construction
 " of the Treaty, on the high seas, all other ships claiming to
 " be Portuguese.

" With respect to what is to be considered as Portuguese
 " territory on the coast of Africa, your Lordships will be
 " pleased to direct the naval officers to attend as strictly as
 " possible to the tenor of the Tenth Article of the Alliance,
 " with Portugal, until some further regulations shall be agreed
 " upon between the two countries.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH."

To the Lords Commissioners }
 of the Admiralty. }

* Thus Lord Castlereagh mildly rebukes the unprecedented interference of the African Institution with the law, by which the Navy was led into error, and the Court compelled to act against its conviction, by the ignorant and muddy-headed confusion, in which they mixed the two Treaties.

No. IV.

Exposition as delivered by the Vice Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone.

The 10th Article of the Treaty of friendship and alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Prince Regent of Portugal, signed Feb. 10, 1810, cannot be construed strictly; because the principle avowed in the commencement, for the restriction of the trade, is inconsistent with the extent of territory claimed in its conclusion, in which, without restraint on the subject, it may be exercised: therefore it can only be construed by intendment, upholding the benevolent spirit declared in the preamble, as actuating the Prince Regent of Portugal's conduct.

The Article begins by an assurance, " that the Prince
 " Regent of Portugal, being convinced of the injustice and
 " impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of the disadvantages
 " which arise from introducing such a factitious population
 " into his South American dominions, has resolved to co-
 " operate with his Britannic Majesty in the cause of hu-
 " manity and justice, by adopting the most efficacious means
 " for bringing about a gradual Abolition of the slave trade-
 " throughout the whole of his dominions; and that his
 " subjects shall not be permitted to carry on the slave trade
 " on any part of the coast of Africa, not actually belonging
 " to his Royal Highness's dominions:" the intention of
 which is clearly this; that the Prince Regent, actuated by
 feelings of justice and humanity, and considering this fac-
 titious population a disadvantage to Brazil, is resolved to
 bring slaves only from and to his own dominions; and even
 the numbers to be exported from his dominions on the
 coast of Africa, shall be gradually diminished.—But the

article continues, "reserving however to his own subjects the right of purchasing and trading in slaves within the dominions of the Crown of Portugal:" and after this reservation, wherever there is a spot on the coast of Africa, about which a doubt could be started as to his dominions, the Prince Regent stipulates, that his right shall not be disputed; and then he claims Cabinda, Molembo, Ajuda, the Costa da Mind, or any part of Africa, to which *the Crown of Portugal has any pretensions*; and the article concludes thus: "His Royal Highness being resolved not to resign, or forego, his just and legitimate pretensions; nor the right of his subjects to trade with those places, as they had formerly done;" thus the last part directly contradicts the intention declared in the first: because Portugal claims, the whole coast by gift from the Pope; such being the foundation of this title, her pretensions are not to be disputed; nor the right of her subjects to trade, in consequence of those pretensions; and lastly, in confirmation of the Crown's pretensions, and the subject's right, the Royal passports issued (in general), extend the leave to trade over the whole coast of Africa. It is evident then, if we attend to this contradictory article, it must be from considering its intention, as declared in its commencement; and in that way I shall examine it. The Prince Regent of Portugal, having bound himself by this Treaty to confine his subjects to the slave trade from the dominions of the Crown of Portugal, we have to consider where his real dominions on the coast of Africa do exist; and as I have assiduously investigated this subject, my information may perhaps be useful. At Molembo, not a vestige proclaims that the Portuguese ever had any possessions there; nor do the natives allow they ever had. At Cabinda, there remain a few stones, to mark the spot where a Fort might once have stood, in possession of the Portuguese; but the native Chiefs maintain, they were only suffered to be there for trade, without any claim to dominion. At Ajuda, they have a flag-staff and factory, for the possession

of which they pay the King of Dahomy; this will not constitute dominion; and in no other place on the Coast of Africa have they a twig to mark a semblance, even of former residence; nor would the Sovereign Powers on the coast allow, that the Portuguese Crown had a foot of dominion in any of those places mentioned in this article of the treaty: but on the Continent, near the isle of Bissao, they have a small possession; and so small it is, that although Bissao only exports about seven hundred slaves a year, yet those few they are obliged to obtain from the Bujagas, or the native Chiefs around them. At Ajuda, they obtain their slaves from the King of Dahomy; from Ouim, Logos, Pupo, Porto-Novo, &c. &c. by canoes chiefly. At Cabinda, they are supplied from Loango, Ambriz, and the Congo, also by canoes; and at the islands of Princes and Saint Thomas (being at a distance from the Continent), they are supplied by small vessels from the rivers Gabon, Boney, Calabar, &c. &c.

It can be positively proved, that the Prince Regent of Portugal does not actually possess any dominions in Africa, except at Saint Pauls de Loanda, Novo Redunda, and at Saint Philip's Benquila; therefore, under this Treaty, his subjects can fairly carry slaves only from those places; for it is the poorest sophism to argue, that they export their slaves from their own dominions, because their ships anchor at Princes, Saint Thomas, Ajuda, or Cabinda, when the slaves purchased from the native Chiefs on the Continent, are only removed into those ships by canoes, or small sloops, from dominions to which Portugal has no claim, and over which she never exercised any control.

Between latitude eight and twelve, South of the Equator, the Prince Regent of Portugal has those extensive dominions from Saint Paul's to Saint Philip's, where also he has forts, forces, custom houses, and executive governments; and to

the territory does the treaty confine his subjects to trade : surely it is a sufficient space for mercenary man, to extend his power of entailing on subdued men interminable slavery.

The last point to be considered is, that by this Treaty the Regent binds himself gradually to abolish this nefarious trade ; whereas, his subjects have rapidly increased it ever since the Treaty was signed. There is a Custom house at St. Paul's di Loanda, and at St. Philip's Benquillá, where small duties are paid ; therefore it can be ascertained what number is exported from Africa to the Brazils, when the trade is properly confined to those places ; it can also be known what number is received at the Brazils ; because their law directs a royal duty there, and the Passports could regulate the number that should be exported and imported, by specifying in the body of the Passport, how many the ship for which it is given shall be allowed to carry. At the same time our Court may justly insist, that an annual diminution of the number should be enforced under the control of the Passports, according to the spirit of the Treaty : for it is but justice to demand, not only a gradual diminution ; but that also, as for five years, they have unfairly increased their trade ; so, now they should diminish in a proportion adequate to the increase they have so faithlessly obtained. This will be sufficient for the present.

No. V.

Instructions to the Navy; sent by the African Institution.

“ 1st. A quantity of water casks wholly disproportioned
 “ to the ordinary consumption of the ship’s crew, and can
 “ only be wanting for a living cargo.

“ 2d. A quantity of provisions, as rice or beans, likewise far
 “ exceeding the wants of the crew. This, however, is not
 “ a necessary criterion, because it happens in many cases,
 “ that rice, instead of being taken from England, is pur-
 “ chased on the coast, for the purpose of feeding the slaves.

“ 3rd. Barricadoes and Bulk-heads to confine the slaves,
 “ either erected, or prepared with a view to future erec-
 “ tion.

“ 4th. Small tubs for messing the slaves, commonly
 “ called Mess Kitts, in the proportion of one for every eight
 “ or ten slaves.

“ 5th. Chains and fetters for the slaves; though these
 “ may have been shipped under the general name of iron-
 “ mongery, and put up in casks till wanted for use, in order
 “ to avoid suspicion.

“ 6th. Main-deck gratings, used almost exclusively on board
 “ slave ships. It generally happens, that, to escape detec-
 “ tion, these are boarded over at top, so as not to be visible
 “ to a person standing on the deck; but the fraud may be
 “ discovered by holding up a light beneath the deck, as then
 “ the gratings will be seen.

" Where any of these circumstances are found to exist and
 " especially where all are found to exist, a strong ground of
 " suspicion is furnished ; such a ground as would justify
 " the Captain of a man of war in pursuing his investigation
 " farther. Indeed, were they all to be found united, it is
 " apprehended that there would be no room to hesitate
 " about detaining the vessel."

FINIS,